



Shut down NATO

Call for participation in a nonviolent action against NATO on 4 April 2009



On 3 and 4 April the heads of state and government of NATO will meet in Baden-Baden and Strasbourg to celebrate NATO's 60th birthday. We think: 60 years of NATO are not a reason to celebrate, but a reason to resist nonviolently!

Since its foundation in 1949 NATO pretended to defend the so-called free West against the allegedly aggressive communism. Would this have been the real reason for NATO's existence, NATO would have had to dissolve following the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in 1991. But this did not happen. Already during the Cold War NATO contributed significantly to the arms race between East and West, and participated with its secret operation Gladio in the repression against left movement in the West and the military coups in Greece in 1967 and Turkey in 1980. After 1990 NATO quickly developed itself from an alleged defence alliance into an intervention alliance for the military enforcement of Western interests.

Today, NATO stands for:

► **world-wide military interventions**, at the moment for example in Kosovo and Afghanistan, with an operation in the

Mediterranean Sea and a training mission in Iraq, which trains police and military in Iraq. With the latter three military operations NATO actively participates in the so-called „war on terror“, which ultimately means the enforcement of Western hegemony and resource interests;

► **the illegal stationing of nuclear weapons** in Europe and the insistence on the illegal and inhuman nuclear first strike option;

► **the disengagement from international law**, for example through the bombardment of Yugoslavia contrary to international law in 1999, and generally the option to go to war without a mandate by the UN (self-authorisation of NATO);

► **structural violence**: the expenses for armament of all NATO members amount to more than 70% of global military expenditure. This money is not available to solve social or environmental problems world-wide.

In short: for us, NATO stands for the maintenance of the global status quo, the military protection and enforcement of Western economic, resources and hegemony interests and as a consequence the

Editorial

On 3 and 4 April 2009 NATO will celebrate its 60th birthday in Baden-Baden in Germany and Strasbourg in France. While all the details of this "celebration" are not yet known, it is already clear that the NATO summit will not leave much space for democratic protest in either of the two summit cities (see page 5). War Resisters' International is part of the International Coordination Committee which coordinates a wide range of protest activities (see the overview on page 8), and is also part of NATO-ZU, a coalition of nonviolent groups that is part of the overall coalition organising actions of civil disobedience in Strasbourg in the morning of 4 April.

At War Resisters' International we feel that 60 years of NATO are not a reason to celebrate, but a reason to resist nonviolently (see also Broken Rifle No 79, September 2008). Because of this, War Resisters' International has been involved in the NATO-Game over action at the NATO headquarters in Brussels on 22 March 2008, and because of this we are now involved in the activities against the NATO summit.

But we at War Resisters' International do not see these activities as just one more event. We hope that the actions against the NATO summit will create a broader antimilitarist movement against NATO and all it stands for: Western domination of the world, military intervention to enforce Western capitalist interests, and militarised patriarchal society in the West.

For us it is very clear that NATO is not about democracy. The very fact that democracy will be temporarily suspended in all summit cities during the NATO summit goes to show that NATO is not only a danger to democracy in the rest of the world, but also at home.

60 years of NATO – it is high time to resist and to shut down NATO.

Andreas Speck

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NATO members:

Since its foundation in 1949, NATO grew only very little in the 1950s. A second and larger wave of new members joined after the end of the Cold War.

1949:

Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, United States of America.

1952:

Greece, Turkey

1955:

Germany

1982:

Spain

1999:

Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland

2004:

Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia

2009:

Albania, Croatia

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exploitation of the countries of the South. NATO in fact turns into the military arm of the G7 states (G8 minus Russia), especially during the present financial and economic crisis this military arm can quickly become even more important.

The 2009 NATO summit: Agreements to fight wars and to violate international law

At the NATO summit the heads of state and government of the NATO member states will discuss the continuation and development of these policies, and will make corresponding decisions. This is in fact an agreement to violate international law and to carry out wars of aggression. We will react to this with our nonviolent resistance.

The action: Shut down NATO Nonviolent action against the NATO summit

On 4 April, a range of groups will express their protest against NATO and will attempt to obstruct the NATO summit in Strasbourg. We understand ourselves as part of the international protest movement 'No to war -No to NATO' and we will participate in these protest with our own significant nonviolent action.

We want to show that NATO goes over corpses, and that we will confront this policy. With our action, we want to remember the past and future victims of NATO's wars and of military armament, and want to express very clearly, which interests are being pursued with NATO's strategies. The action will be provocative, but strictly nonviolent, even when our opponent attempts to clear us out of the way with violence. In the case of legal charges, we will put forward our legal view also in court and in doing so will enrich the public debate. According to our legal view, civil disobedience in most cases cannot only be justified morally/ethically, but also legally.

The undersigned call on everyone to participate in the nonviolent actions in Baden-Baden and Strasbourg.

Signatories:

Bund für Soziale Verteidigung (BSV) • Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft-Vereinigte KriegsdienstgegnerInnen (DFG-VK) • Friedenskreis Halle e.V. • Vredesactie – Bombspotting (Belgien) • War Resisters' International (WRI) • Werkstatt für Gewaltfreie Aktion, Baden (WfGA) • Gewaltfreie Aktion Atomwaffen abschaffen (GAAA) • Union Pacifiste de France • Alternativa Antimilitarista (MOC) • Party & Activism Kollektiv (P&A) • Bildungs- und Begegnungstätte für gewaltfreie Aktion e.V. (KURVE Wustrow) • Kooperation für den Frieden • Pressehütte Mutlangen •

Information regarding the organisation of the action

Very important: we ask all participants to arrive early, on 1 April 2009. There will be an action camp, where we will offer nonviolence training, so that we can prepare ourselves well for the action. It would be even better if you could form groups in advance and can participate in a training in advance, and form affinity groups. All necessary information for the preparation of the action will be available in the coming weeks on our web page <http://wri-irg.org>. It is also important to be aware that the law and jurisprudence in France regarding civil disobedience might be different from your own country (More information in the near future at <http://wri-irg.org>). Inform yourself and come to Strasbourg!

Contact:

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Legal stuff:

French law is different from the law in other countries. We are presently investigating the potential legal consequences of an action of civil disobedience. What is clear at present is that a blockade is an unauthorised assembly, and can be dissolved by the police.



NATO member states in 2008. At the summit in Baden-Baden and Strasbourg, Albania and Croatia will join NATO too. Map: Ssolbergj, Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>)

NATO at 60:

From a defence alliance to an alliance for military interventions

NATO has come a long way since the end of the Cold War. Already with the Rome Declaration of 1991 NATO positioned itself with a new strategy, no longer focused at defending the NATO territory from an attack. An attack from the East was no longer likely, instead NATO formulated as "news threats" the consequences of economic, social and political difficulties in central and eastern Europe, for which NATO had to be prepared.

Based on this new definition the "defence alliance" became very active with a range of military interventions outside of its old area of operations. From July 1992 on NATO warships began to verify the UN arms embargo against Serbia and Montenegro in the Adriatic Sea, and later also enforced it. This was the beginning of a development that led to the NATO military interventions first in Bosnia and later to the illegal bombardment of Yugoslavia and the NATO military intervention in Kosovo.

Today, NATO is active militarily in a variety of places: in Afghanistan since 2003 with about 60,000 soldiers, in Kosovo since 1999 with today about 16,000 soldiers, in the Mediterranean sea since October 2001 with up to 2,000 soldiers as part of Operation Active Endeavour, and in Iraq since August 2004 with a training mission with 140 soldiers. With this operation NATO in fact support and legitimises the fact created by the US and UK occupation of Iraq, and the Iraqi government created by the occupiers. The "Anti-Pirate-operation" in front of the coast of Somalia was handed over to the European Union on 12 December 2008 and is now named ATALANTA6.

From these military operations the one in Afghanistan is central for NATO. And NATO's actions in Afghanistan are more and more aggressive and reckless. The outcomes of this occupation are more and more obvious: a brutalisation of society, more misery and more bomb deaths. From January 2006 to July 2008 more than 1,000 Afghan civilians were directly victims of NATO and US military operations.

Via civil-military cooperation as it is practised in Afghanistan, even development aid is being integrated into the NATO war efforts. Caritas International criticised NATO in June 2008, saying that "the distribution of aid money is not linked to the real need for aid, but oriented towards the need of counter-insurgency". At the NATO summit in Bucharest it was decided to make civil-military counter-insurgency generally the



Indian Ocean, 27 November 2008 - A helicopter takes off from the Italian destroyer ITS Durand de la Penne, to conduct surveillance activities during the escorting mission. (NATO photo by PO Luigi Cotrufo, ITA Navy)

focus of present and future NATO missions.

Nuclear sharing

Part of the present NATO strategy is the so-called nuclear sharing – the involvement of non nuclear weapon states in NATO's nuclear weapons. The strategy paper of 1999 stresses the requirement of "widespread participation by European Allies ... in nuclear roles, in peacetime basing of nuclear forces on their territory and in command, control and consultation arrangements." It concludes that "[t]he Alliance will therefore maintain adequate nuclear forces in Europe".

Because of this, US nuclear weapons are based in Germany at Büchel, in Belgium at Kleine Brogel, in the Netherlands at Volkel, in Italy at Aviano and at Ghedi-Torre, and at Incirlik in Turkey. "Nuclear sharing" allows that in times of war pilots from a non-nuclear weapon state, which is a member of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, can use nuclear weapons, which would be a violation of the treaty.

A new NATO strategy: more military interventions

The NATO summit in Strasbourg and Baden Baden is not just about celebrating NATO's 60th birthday. The main discussion will be to continue the development of NATO into an aggressive alliance for interventions, as it was started with the Rome Declaration from 1991. The summit will therefore begin a discussion on a new NATO strategy which will replace the strategy of 1999, which has been agreed during the Kosovo war, in 2010 – if everything goes well.

Important elements of such a new

strategy have been proposed in a paper called "Towards a grand strategy" of five former high ranking NATO officers at the end of 2007. In this paper, the threats are even more global. Future threats are especially religious and political fundamentalism, the "dark" side of globalisation (international terrorism, organised crime and the spread of weapons of mass destruction), as well as climate change and securing access to energy resources (control of resources and conflicts as a result of climate change and climate change induced migration).

To be prepared for these challenges, NATO needs to stick with the option of first use of nuclear weapons, so the authors of the paper.

The authors also make proposals for changes to NATO's structure, so that NATO will be "better" able to act. They propose for NATO to abolish the principle of consensus for decisions within NATO, and propose to introduce majority decisions, which means faster actions through abolishing the veto right of member states. Especially important is the proposal to abolish national caveats in NATO operations of the kind that "plague" the Afghan campaign. In the future, NATO members that are not part of a NATO operation should not have any say about the operation.

International law will be weakened even more though the use of military force also without the authorisation of the Security Council of the United Nations, if "immediate action is needed to protect large numbers of human beings".

Although at present these proposals are not official proposals, it can be assumed that they will be an important part of the discussions.

While the US are already trying to build a missile defence with bases in Poland and the Czech Republic, NATO too will develop its own missile defence. This will also be one of the topics of the NATO summit in April 2009 in Strasbourg and Baden Baden.

The further expansion of NATO, especially towards the east, will be part of the development of NATO. At the summit in Strasbourg and Baden the new NATO members Albania and Croatia will probably finally be accepted as members. NATO also attempts to include Ukraine, Georgia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and with all these countries exist bilateral partnership agreements with the long term objective of NATO membership.

Andreas Speck

NATO and the Trafficking of Women

Women have a multitude of relationships to the military: they command regiments, enlist as soldiers, work in the arms industry, clean the kitchens and toilets of military bases... or oppose the military in protests and peace camps. Some women have little choice about their relationship with the military: they are killed, injured, forced from their homes, and bereaved by armed conflict. Others are recruited, sometimes 'voluntarily', but very often forcibly, to provide sexual services to male military personnel. Many of these are women and girls trafficked for the purposes of forced prostitution.

The conflict in the former Yugoslavia resulted in the presence of around 30,000 NATO personnel in Bosnia Herzegovina in 1995, and a few years later there would be 40,000 in Kosovo. To serve the men, an extensive sex industry based on forcible trafficking was brought into existence in these countries and in Macedonia, the site of NATO's R&R facility.

Where there are devastated infrastructures, massive unemployment and barely functioning economies, trafficking provides both organised crime and "entrepreneurial individuals" with an easy way of entering the "free market economy". NATO creates the demand: it's estimated that members of NATO forces spent over \$40 million a month in purchases in the Balkans between 24 March and 10 June 1999 alone. Post-communist countries of nearby eastern Europe experiencing economic hardship, such as Bulgaria, Ukraine, Russia, Romania and Moldova, provided the commodity – the women and girls.

Some were only too willing to travel to the "west", promised good job prospects as waitresses, bar staff or dancers, at wages they could only dream of at home. While some understood that they had to be illegally smuggled into the Balkans, none was prepared for the violence and sexual exploitation that awaited them there. During the trafficking process women are coerced, threatened, beaten and raped by their traffickers, to keep them compliant. Their documents are taken away, their movement is controlled, they are often imprisoned. The promised wages often never materialise. They are withheld by the traffickers supposedly to repay the woman's "debt" (for clothes and make-up, for instance) or simply to prevent them from escaping.

In both Bosnia and Kosovo some individual soldiers, along with NATO contractors and UN police, were actively involved in the trafficking process, receiving trafficked women and girls at borders, smuggling them into military bases and acting as pimps. For years NATO ignored what was going on,

suggesting the wrongdoers were merely a few "bad apples". This complicity extended in 2002 to shutting down an investigation in Kosovo by NATO personnel into the abuse of Ukrainian and Russian women by Russian soldiers, who were also suspected of being involved in trafficking. The investigation stopped so as not to threaten NATO's relationship with Russia.

Perhaps because of their record of sexual exploitation elsewhere, the US attempted to prevent the involvement of their forces in trafficking and exploitation of trafficked women and girls in Bosnia and Kosovo. Their personnel were prohibited from going off-base except on official duty. However, this didn't stop women being smuggled into bases, nor the development of a sex industry based on trafficking in the Kosovo town of Ferizaj, just down the road from Bondsteel, then the largest US base in eastern Europe.

At the 2004 Istanbul Summit, NATO adopted a Policy Against Human Trafficking, which described human trafficking as a crime, a violation of human rights and a "modern day slave trade that fuels corruption and organised crime". However for NATO trafficking is mainly a security issue. Thus the policy went on to suggest that it has the potential to "destabilise fragile governments". So, while the policy recognises that NATO forces are part of the problem, and provides for "securing standards of individual behaviour", it does not explicitly prohibit NATO forces from engaging in or facilitating trafficking, or from having sex with trafficked women. Private contractors employed by NATO can be penalised for involvement in trafficking – but in the few instances reported they have merely been repatriated.

In theory all NATO forces receive awareness training on "the problem of trafficking and how this modern day slave trade impacts on human rights, stability and security". They are given guidelines that prohibit involvement in trafficking, and in Kosovo they were prohibited visiting clubs and bars where trafficked women worked. In practice, however, the policy has

failed because each NATO member state is free to decide how to interpret it. While one or two NATO have disciplined soldiers involved in trafficking, immunity from prosecution afforded to NATO forces means that no suspected NATO traffickers have ever been prosecuted.

For feminist anti-militarists, opposition to NATO includes proposing alternatives to military security. Real security means that women and girls may live without violence, without coercion, and free of the poverty that drives them into the hands of traffickers. NATO should start taking its anti-trafficking policy seriously and start acting to provide women with real security.

Sian Jones
Women in Black London



A German soldier in Kosovo

NATO summit 2009: A democracy free zone

When the alliance of democracies meets, there is no space for democracy

When NATO celebrates its 60th birthday in Baden-Baden, Kehl and Strasbourg on 3 and 4 April 2009, there will be a lot of nice speeches about the values of democracy, and the need to defend democracy against a multitude of threats. But while NATO might talk about democracy, democracy will be temporarily suspended in huge areas of Baden-Baden, Kehl and Strasbourg.

Security zones and "no-go areas"

The complete picture of "security zones" and controlled areas is not yet clear, but it is clear that the scale of this security operation and the restriction to freedom of movement, freedom of assembly and democratic protest will be unprecedented.

What is known so far is that in Strasbourg access to the old town will only be possible with special access passes. All street markets, schools, kindergartens, historic sights and more will be closed on 4 April. In addition, trams will not be able to enter the security zones, and the train line from Strasbourg to Germany will be suspended from Friday afternoon until Saturday morning. Strasbourg's mayor Robert Herrmann advised tourists not to visit Strasbourg on 4 April.

In Kehl, 700 people who live near the Passerelle, a pedestrian bridge over the Rhine which will be the site of a symbolic handshake of the heads of states and governments, will be severely effected. From Friday evening until Saturday morning they will not be able to leave their houses without prior consent from the police, and only accompanied by police. In addition, access to the Europa bridge, the main road connection over the Rhine, will be closed for several hours, and even traffic on the Rhine will be halted.

A similar concept will be in force in Baden-Baden, where German chancellor Angela Merkel will receive the heads of states and governments on 3 April at 17.30hrs, before they dine at the Kurhaus Casino in Baden-Baden. Details for Baden-Baden are not yet known, but it is expected that in Baden-Baden too there will be no-go areas.

Democracy suspended

All this security leaves little room for democratic protest. At the time of going to press, the authorities of Strasbourg halted the negotiations with the International Coordination Committee No-to-NATO 2009 about the route for the international demonstration, planned for 4 April 2009. While the organisers of the demonstration want a route which will bring the protest close to the summit itself, the authorities do not want to allow any demonstration in the centre of Strasbourg, and want to

divert the demonstration to the outskirts, where it cannot be seen or heard by the presidents and prime ministers of the NATO countries. This in fact is contrary to the French constitution and the European Convention on Human Rights, as it will deny the citizenry to voice their protest close to the object of their protest. Thus, the way the NATO summit is organised turns all speeches and declarations of democracy that might be made at the summit into a farce.

Block-NATO

Nevertheless, preparations are well under way to confront NATO with our protest. War Resisters' International is part of a coalition of groups that plan to

blockade the NATO summit. Within the framework of this coalition called "Block-NATO", and founded at the Activist Conference in Strasbourg on 14/15 February, War Resisters' International works closely with its Belgian affiliates Vredesactie and a range of German nonviolent groups in organising a blockading point (see the call on page 1 and 2).

We will meet in the protest camp in Strasbourg-Neudorf (La Ganzau), to finalise the preparations for the action and to provide a last opportunity to take part in a nonviolence training. To make this blockade a success, we need your support. Come to Strasbourg from 1-5 April 2009, to reclaim democracy!

Andreas Speck

Public Appeal for the Right to Demonstrate in Strasbourg

Committee for Basic Rights and Democracy, Martin Singe, Aquinostr. 7-11, D-50670 Cologne, Tel. +49-221-9726920

February 17, 2009

TO: The French Minister of the Interior
The Embassy of France in Germany
Members of the European Parliament

Dear ladies and gentlemen,

At the recent international conference in Strasbourg, 14-15 February, called to prepare for demonstrations and protest actions during the NATO summit meeting on April 3-4, 2009, those present learned that all demonstrations in the central city are to be banned. In addition a 'red zone' limited to those with special passes, and a new video monitoring system will be set up. Suddenly the Schengener internal frontiers are to be restored, reflecting the motto: an international **military whirlwind**, yes – democratic international action from below – no.

For the more than 350 participants at the international preparatory conference, this limitation of basic rights is not acceptable. The peace movement will maintain its goal of demonstrating against the NATO Summit in downtown Strasbourg with thousands of citizens.

The Committee for Basic Rights and Democracy was founded in 1980 by participants in the Russell Tribunal on the human rights situation in the Federal Republic of Germany (1978-79). In the framework of its activities and cooperation with the peace movement, the Committee supports the call for **peaceful** demonstrations around the NATO summit. The planned massive restrictions against the right of assembly are incompatible with democracy and citizens' rights. They are evidence of the state apparatus' deep-seated fear of the real 'sovereign' – the men and women of the citizenry. On the occasion of the NATO meeting, the police and military administration want to impose a ban on an entire region, between Baden-Baden and Strasbourg, so that they can remain undisturbed by citizen action. The sovereign is to be excluded. The Charter of Basic Rights of the European Union, proclaimed with such celebration, would be perverted by the NATO powers.

The right to freedom of opinion and assembly, thus the right to demonstrate, is clearly the democratic basis for citizens in representative democratic constitutional systems, which otherwise have little space for direct expressions of the sovereign citizenry. Thus we demand from all politicians that they refuse to accept any limitations of the basic freedoms during the NATO summit. NATO's war-like strategic planning must face critical public debate and public protest. Citizens will not accept a democracy under a state of police and military emergency.

We call on the responsible ministers and public authorities as well as all politicians in charge, to commit themselves to the unrestricted right to demonstrate during the days of the NATO summit meeting on the first weekend in April, between Baden-Baden and Strasbourg.

Sincerely yours,
gez. Martin Singe



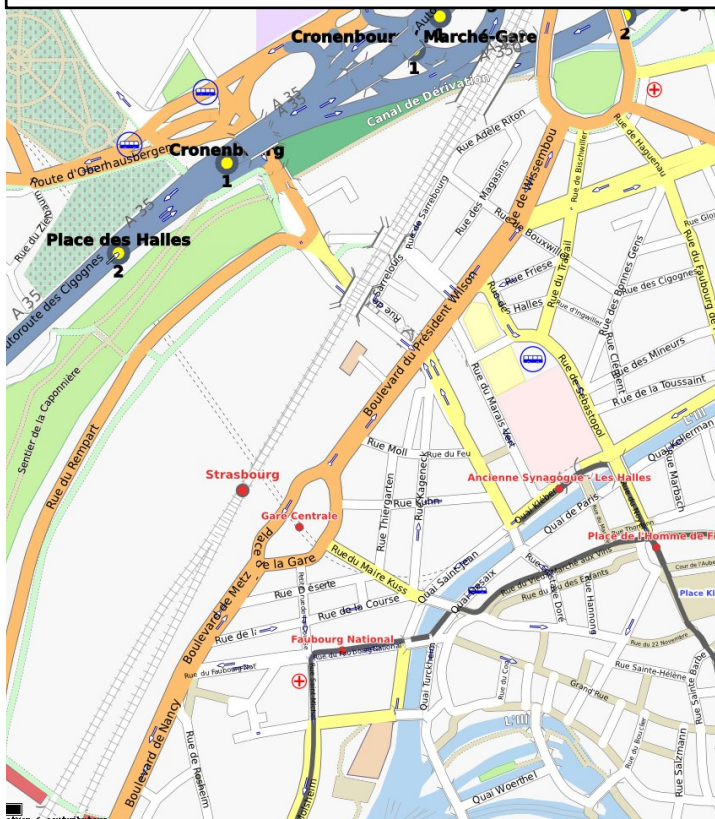
Wacken:

Here will be the Media Centre for up to 1,200 journalists. Transport to NATO summit events in Germany will also be from the Media Centre.



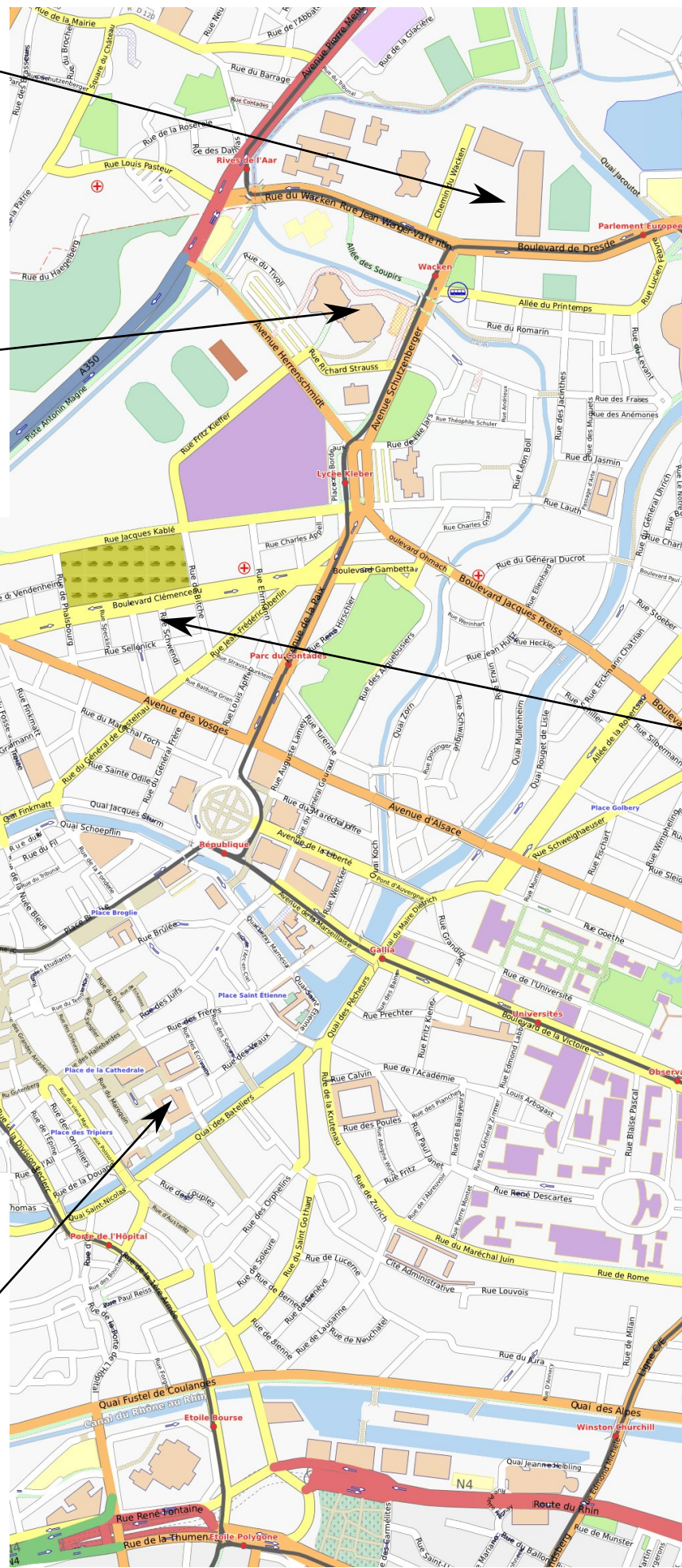
Palais de la Musique et des Congrès:

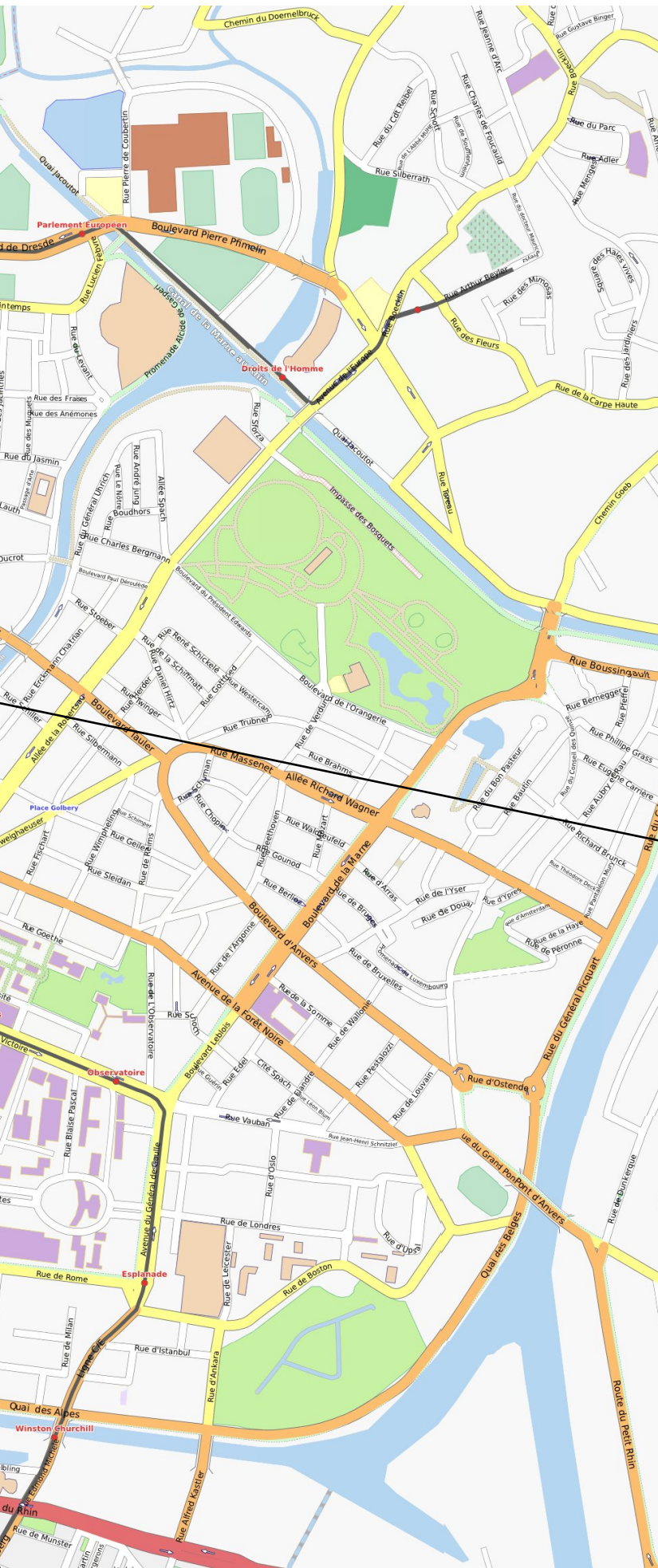
The Palais de la Musique et des Congrès is the venue for the NATO summit in Strasbourg. Here will be the official meetings, with all the delegations. The summit starts here at 10.00am, and goes until 3.00pm.



Palais des Rohan:

On 4 April, the heads of states and governments will meet for lunch at the Palais des Rohan. The exact timing is not yet known.





Security zones

When NATO meets in Strasbourg, the city will be turned into a military fortress, with up to 25,000 police protecting the NATO summit, and effectively leaving no space for democratic protest. At the time of going to press, the exact locations of security zones in Strasbourg were not yet known. However, it is clear that:

- ▶ there will at least be two security zones: the neighbourhood around the Palais de Musique et de Congrès / Wacken and the cathedral / Palais Rohan
- ▶ Until 3 and 4 April, other security zones might emerge
- ▶ The Lycee Kleber will be completely closed on 3 and 4 April
- ▶ the markets will be closed

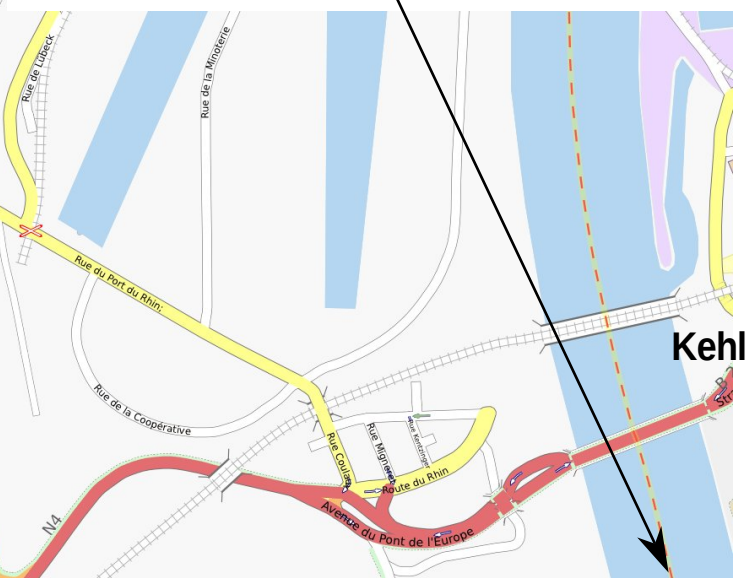
With these security zones, there is little space left for democratic protest.

Media Accreditation Office:

The Media Accreditation Office will be at Cap Europe in rue de Bitche. Access to the Media Accreditation Office will be via rue Jean Frédéric Oberlin.

Passerelle:

At 8.30am on 4 April there will be some shaking of hands on the Passerelle between Strasbourg and Kehl.



NATO and nuclear weapons: a challenge across Europe

It's time to take nuclear weapons out of Europe. As NATO reaches 60, NATO needs to get the message that we don't need nuclear weapons and neither does NATO. Designed for the cold war, nuclear weapons are worse than irrelevant in the current security context. Even within the military, such weapons are increasingly perceived as "so last century", militarily inappropriate and a massive drain on resources which the military claim are needed for conventional wars.

Even at the height of the cold war, the only members of NATO to possess nuclear weapons were the USA and UK (whose weapons, from 1958 onwards, have been more or less under US control). While in theory both UK and US nuclear weapons are part of NATO's nuclear arsenal, when it comes to deployment, each state (the UK in theory, but not in practice) assumes command responsibility. While France is a NATO member, its nuclear weapons are independent of NATO.

There are signs of change. Even though the US, UK and France have each started developing new nuclear weapons systems, each was condemned for their continued proliferation in 2008 by the majority of non-nuclear weapons states party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). In Europe both Germany and Norway have been pressing for a comprehensive review of arms control policy, and within European states hosting US nuclear weapons, there is increasing political and public opposition. In February Obama announced the prioritisation of nuclear weapons reduction, seeking to de-escalate old cold

war tensions, and suggesting that both the US and Russia aim to reduce their warheads to 1,000 in the post 1991 US-Soviet Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (Start) negotiations due to open later this year.

Activists can fruitfully engage with these developments. As NATO hits 60 there are signs that it will, in April, begin to revise the Strategic Concept – its policy on nuclear weapons. There are also indications that both the US and European host states are looking for an opportunity to remove US tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, without losing face on either side.

US nuclear weapons are hosted by Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey under the NATO Strategic Concept; this arrangement is known as "nuclear sharing". There are probably a maximum of 350 US tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. B-61 "gravity bombs" are held at Kleine Brogel airbase in Belgium, Buchel in Germany and Volkel in the Netherlands. Italy hosts between 70 and 90 weapons at Aviano and Ghedi Torre; another 50-90 are located at the Incirlik airbase in Turkey. Until they were withdrawn in July 2008, there were more than 110 at Lakenheath in the UK. With the exception of Turkey, these bombs in theory can be delivered by either US or host nation pilots and aircraft.

Under international law "nuclear sharing" is unlawful. The NPT prohibits nuclear weapons states (NWS) like the US from transferring nuclear weapons – including the direct or indirect control of nuclear weapons – to non-nuclear weapons states (NNWS) like Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Turkey; it also prohibits NNWS from receiving such weapons. The US argues that this doesn't violate the NPT, because they made the agreement long before the NPT came into force. But even in the US, there is little support for this position; according to a recent poll over half of US citizens considered that nuclear sharing could be a violation of the NPT and that it should end.

Similarly few "host" nations have much enthusiasm for nuclear

sharing. While the German government has officially stated that it will continue to host US weapons for the "foreseeable future", according to the NGO BASIC this policy could be up for debate quite soon when the German government has to decide whether to replace the Tornado aircraft (which currently deliver the B-61s), with the Typhoon Eurofighters; reportedly the government informed the parliament in 2004 that it did not intend to certify the Typhoons to carry nuclear weapons.

According to Hans M. Kristensen, over 70 percent of Germans and Italians want their country and Europe to be nuclear free; more than 63 per cent in Belgium and the Netherlands oppose sharing; the figure is over 88 percent in Turkey, following massive public opposition to the hosting of US forces in the Iraq war. Any of these states could at anytime opt out of this arrangement with the US, as Greece, South Korea and Japan, have already done, (see <http://www.basicint.org/gtz/gtz11.htm>).

In the UK at the Atomic Weapons Establishment in Aldermaston, a massive building programme is equipping the UK to build a successor to Trident. The UK's system, from the missile bodies (leased from the US), to the US companies which run Aldermaston for the UK government (Lockheed Martin and Jacobs Engineering) down to the level of targeting is subject to US control. Since the 1958 Mutual Defence Agreement Aldermaston has developed nuclear warheads with partner installations in the US: recent reports confirm that Aldermaston is now assisting the cash-starved US Reliable Replacement Warhead programme, under the guise of developing what the UK calls its High Surety Warhead.

In France, even though Sarkozy in 2008 announced a reduction in plane-based tactical nuclear weapons, new M-51 long range missiles equipped with new warheads will be ready for deployment from 2010. There are also signs that France's current nuclear strategy may change, as Sarkozy hints of a mutual approach on nuclear policy with Britain, conceiving of both nuclear arsenals for the "defence" of Europe.

Time to act

Even NATO admit they're not planning to use their nuclear weapons. NATO's current Strategic Concept states: "NATO's nuclear forces continue to play an essential role in war prevention, but their role is now more fundamentally



Test firing of a Trident II missile

political, and they are no longer directed towards a specific threat."

The argument that nuclear weapons prevent war was lost long ago. While the US and UK may aspire to another "political" generation of Trident long-range ballistic missiles, there is no political rationale for tactical nuclear weapons. Even under Bush the Pentagon was considering the possibility of scaling down or ending their deployment in Europe. According to BASIC's recent analysis, "the Obama Administration ... will look to test opinion [on withdrawal] across the Alliance beyond only the host states before making any significant changes." With political pressure, their removal could become a reality, and the case needs to be made before the US produces its promised new Nuclear Posture Review in late 2009 or early 2010. Both the US and European governments need to get the message.

It's also time to prevent NATO from revising its policy on pre-emptive nuclear attack. While "first use" has been US doctrine since their 2002 Nuclear Posture Review, so far this has been resisted by NATO, but pressure for change – including from ex-military chiefs – has been mounting since early 2008. We need to ensure NATO rejects US doctrine and holds the existing position.

In the 1980s a massive anti-nuclear

movement across NATO member states succeeded in getting rid of both US Pershing and Cruise missiles. 2009 presents an opportunity to get rid of the remnants of the cold war and take US nuclear weapons out of Europe, a first stage in dismantling NATO's nuclear arsenal. The next stage will be to stop the next generation of Trident nuclear weapons being developed in the UK and the deployment of France's new weapons system (and if Sarkozy's overtures are to be believed their addition to Europe's nuclear arsenal). We have the opportunity to rid Europe of weapons of mass destruction, let's use it.

Sian Jones

Sian Jones is an activist with Aldermaston Women's Peace Camp(aign), <http://www.aldermaston.net>

Brothers in spirit:

Intensification of EU-NATO co-operation

US president Barack Obama is seeking to close ranks with allies in the EU, not least because of the USA's grave economic and military problems. The deal is that, in exchange for increased political power, EU states should increase military support for the USA in maintaining the Western world order.

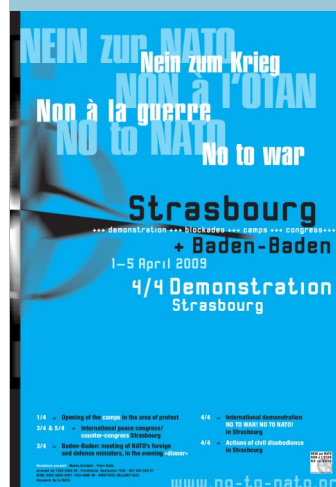
The first signs of this "burden sharing" and an expansion of NATO's role can already be spotted. Already the EU can use NATO capacities for military operations within the framework of the Berlin-Plus agreement, as practised in Bosnia now. Now there are also increasingly serious debates to establish the reverse procedure, that NATO can access the EU's civilian capacities for its wars ("Berlin-Plus-Reverse"). Until summer 2009, the EU presidency is held by the Czech Republic which has announced that improving the partnership with NATO is one of its main aims in EU military policy. A European Parliament report and resolution (drafted under the leadership of Ari Vatanen of EVP, French conservatives) was passed in mid-February with a very small majority: this demands an even closer cooperation of EU and NATO, among others through the establishment of permanent structures for cooperation. On top of that, the French government want to reintegrate France fully into the integrated military structures of NATO, after more than 40 years of absence. For this, France is to be rewarded with at least one important command post.

Another area of intensified cooperation is Iraq. Barack Obama by no means aims for a complete withdrawal of US troops. According to Secretary of State Robert Gates "for decades" up to 40,000 soldiers could be occupying the country. Less than a week after Obama's election the European Council therefore decided that the EU mission EUJUST LEX will from mid 2009 on for the first time train officials in Iraq itself, and thus support the USA in its occupation. NATO as a whole passed a similar decision in December 2008.

But the most important aspect is the US demand for significant larger support for the war in Afghanistan. Barack Obama wants to send up to 30,000 additional troops, in addition to the 55,000 troops already in the country. At the same time he vehemently demands that EU states massively increase the number of troops. EU states are in favour of this – for example, German Defence Minister Jung announced at the Munich "security" conference that Germany will provide more troops for the Rapid Reaction Force, which is in charge of counter-insurgency operations in the north of Afghanistan.

Thus grows together what belongs together: EU and NATO increasingly work jointly in the planning and execution of their wars.

Tobias Pflüger MEP



No to NATO

Resistance activities 1-5 April 2009

Following the international call "No to war - no to NATO", passed at an international preparatory conference in Stuttgart on 5 October 2008, a range of activities are planned for the time of the NATO summit. These include:

- ▶ A camp in Strasbourg from 1-5 April 2009.
- ▶ A counter-conference in Strasbourg on 3 April
- ▶ Actions of civil disobedience in Baden-Baden on 3 April, to accompany the reception by German chancellor Angela Merkel and the working dinner of the heads of states and governments
- ▶ An international demonstration in Strasbourg on 4 April, with a feeder demonstration from Kehl
- ▶ Actions of civil disobedience in Strasbourg in the morning of 4 April
- ▶ A counter-conference on 5 April 2009 in Strasbourg

More information:

- ▶ International Coordination Committee: <http://no-to-nato.org>
- ▶ NATO-ZU (with participation of WRI): <http://nato-zu.de>
- ▶ Block-NATO: <http://block-nato.org>
- ▶ Resistance des deux rives: <http://natogipfel2009.blogsport.de/>



Documentation on conscientious objection in the European Union

Published by WRI Council member and MEP Tobias Pflüger

Professional soldiers and the right to conscientious objection in the European Union in November 2008, WRI Council member and MEP Tobias Pflüger published a new publication on "Professional soldiers and the right to conscientious objection in the European Union", based on research of War Resisters' International. The publication provides an overview of the present state of the right to conscientious objection in the European Union. It was produced in close co-operation with War Resisters' International (WRI). It builds on the global survey on the situation of conscientious objectors by War Resisters' International from 1998 and their update by Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA) from 2005.

For the first time this publication attempts to systematically also provide information on the right to conscientious objection for contract and professional soldiers. It became clear that on this issue there is a lack of information.

With the trend towards the professionalisation of the military in Europe, another development occurs mainly unnoticed: the right to conscientious objection, which has been widely recognised in the European Union, is being weakened. With the increased use of a professionalised military within the framework of NATO, the EU or the United Nations (or within ad-hoc coalitions), the right to conscientious objection is more important than ever for those soldiers who need it.

The publication is available free of charge from War Resisters' International and the office of Tobias Pflüger MEP. However, there will be a charge for postage and packaging. Please contact the WRI office for more information at info@wri-irg.org.

A global NATO?

From NATO to a "global alliance of democracies"?

Not only since the end of the Cold War NATO – the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation – has expanded considerably beyond what could be called the "Northern Atlantic" region. In fact, most of NATO's expansion has been in Eastern and South Eastern Europe. But NATO is more than just a North American and European affair. It now has global connections and partnerships, and some strategists propose to develop NATO into a "global alliance of democracies".

In a fictitious "Memo to the New President", Will Marshall from the influential "Democratic Leadership Council" suggests: "You should seize the opportunity to lead NATO's transformation from a NorthAmerican-European pact into a global alliance of free nations. By opening its doors to Japan, Australia, India, Chile, and a handful of other stable democracies, NATO would augment both its human and financial resources. What is more, NATO would enhance its political legitimacy to operate on a global stage" [1].

Already today NATO has a close cooperation with what is called "Contact Countries", presently Australia, Japan, South Korea and New Zealand. At the NATO Riga Summit in November 2006, NATO pledged to increase the operational relevance of relations with interested Contact Countries; and in particular to strengthen NATO's ability to work with those current and potential contributors to NATO operations.

NATO has been cooperating with countries which are not formal Partner countries since the 1990s. For example, a political dialogue

with Japan began in 1990, and Argentina and Chile contributed forces to NATO's missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina [2].

NATO is also courting India, a potential key partner of NATO against China, but also in relation to Africa. NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue (since 1995 with six countries – Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. Algeria joined in 2000) [3] and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative ICI (since 2004) are aimed at expanding NATO's influence into the Gulf region, with Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates being formally part of ICI, and Saudia Arabia and Oman "showing great interest" [4].

Kill the UN

While from conservative US side the idea of a global alliance of democracies is openly praised for its "hidden agenda" to kill the UN [5], democrats are generally a bit more diplomatic about it. While they do not want to "kill the UN", they want a "concert of democracies" as an alternative forum which can authorise the use of force (military intervention) in cases when a veto in the UN Security Council "prevented free nations from keeping faith with the aims of the U.N. Charter." [6].

Ivo Daalder, an early Obama campaign foreign policy adviser, is a protagonist of this new global NATO. In 2006, he wrote: "NATO should see these global partnerships not as a final objective but as a first step toward formal membership. [...] NATO's new global-partnership project should play a similar role



An IL-78 transport aircraft of the Indian Air Force (IAF) is guided along the tarmac at Mont de Marsan Airbase on route to the US for Exercise 'Red Flag 2008'.

by preparing the alliance to transform itself from a transatlantic entity into a global one. NATO need not decide in advance which countries it would invite to join its ranks; it need only decide that membership should in principle be open to non-European countries" [7].

What for?

Besides all the nice Sunday talk about democratic values, it is clear that this "alliance of democracies" is not about democracy. NATO and US strategists expect a new confrontation between China and Russia on one side and "the West" on the other side in the competition for decreasing resources, especially oil and other raw materials. In this scenario, NATO and a global alliance of democracies should enforce Western global hegemony, and access to resources, if needed by force.

As US influence in the UN is at an all-time low, an alternative forum is needed to provide the public justification. NATO's debate about a new strategic concept, which will also include the authority to act without UN authorisation, is one important step in this direction. It's high time to put a spanner into the works.

Andreas Speck

http://www.nato.int/issues/contact_countries/index.html, accessed 19 February 2009

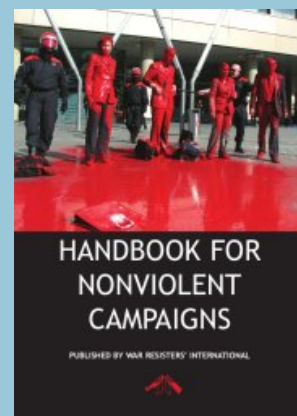
[3] NATO: NATO Mediterranean Dialogue, <http://www.nato.int/med-dial/summary.htm>, accessed 19 February 2009

[4] NATO: Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI), <http://www.nato.int/issues/ici/index.html>, accessed 19 February 2009

[5] Charles Krauthammer: Special report with Brit Hume, Fox News Network, 26 March 2008, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,342137,00.html>

[6] Ikenberger, John, Slaughter, Anne-Marie: Forging a World of Liberty under Law, September 2006, p26, <http://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/report/FinalReport.pdf>, accessed 19 February 2009

[7] Ivo Daalder and James Goldgeier: Global NATO. In: Foreign Affairs, September/October 2006, <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060901faessay85509-p0/ivo-daalder-james-goldgeier/global-nato.html>, accessed 19 February 2009



Handbook for Nonviolent campaigns

Social change doesn't just happen. It's the result of the work of committed people striving for a world of justice and peace. This work takes place in groups or cells of activists, in discussions, in training sessions, in reflecting on previous experiences, in planning, in experimenting and in learning from others. Preparing ourselves for our work for social justice is key to its success.

It includes sections on:

- ▶ developing strategic nonviolent campaigns
- ▶ preparing for effective nonviolent actions (complete with checklist)
- ▶ exercises for working in nonviolence (including group dynamics and gender issues)
- ▶ stories and strategies both showing the use of non-violent organising tools in specific settings and describing global campaigns.

There is no definitive recipe for successful non-violent actions and campaigns. This handbook, however, is a series of resources that can inspire and support your own work, especially if you adapt the resources to your own needs and context.

You can access the online version of the Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns from <http://wri-irg.org/node/3855>

For ordering copies of Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns, please contact the WRI office at info@wri-irg.org.

Notes:

- [1] Will Marshall: Memo to the New President, 15 January 2009, http://www.ppionline.org/ppi_ci.cfm?knlgArealD=450020&subseclD=900194&contentID=254815
- [2] NATO: NATO's relations with Contact Countries,

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—	GUE/NGL: Professional soldiers and the right to conscientious objection in the EU, produced by WRI, 2008	£1.50	€3,50	US\$5,00

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The Broken Rifle is the newsletter of War Resisters' International, and is published in English, Spanish, French and German. This is issue 81, February 2009.

This issue of *The Broken Rifle* was produced by Andreas Speck. Special thanks go to Tobias Pflüger, Sian Jones, Cynthia Cockburn, NATO-ZU and many others.

If you want extra copies of this issue of *The Broken Rifle*, please contact the WRI office, or download it from our website.

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